

He leaves behind a wonderful wife and two children, as well as a community full of grateful citizens, grateful for his decades of faithful service to the community and its people and grateful for having had a chance to know a man like Derek.

I am personally saddened by this loss. Chief Asdot was a friend, a mentor, and a colleague who showed me what selfless public service looks like. He did his duty with integrity, passion, grit, and I am forever thankful to have known him.

Rest easy, Chief. We've got your 6.

VOTING RIGHTS UNDER ATTACK

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Ms. NEWMAN). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 4, 2021, the gentleman from New York (Mr. TORRES) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. TORRES of New York. Madam Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks and include any extraneous material on the subject of this Special Order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. TORRES of New York. Madam Speaker, where did we get this notion that the filibuster is more worth preserving than the right to vote? That is surely not the lesson of American history. That is surely not what we teach our students in the classroom or our children at home. Yet, that is the lie that dictates what happens here in the Nation's Capitol, a lie that comes at a heavy cost to American democracy.

It seems that there is nothing sacred in American politics—not the truth, not the peaceful transfer of power, not the full faith and credit of the United States, and, indeed, not even the right to vote.

The enforcement mechanisms of the Voting Rights Act have been all but eviscerated.

First, there is section 5, otherwise known as preclearance, which enables the executive branch, the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice, to enforce the Voting Rights Act. Then there is section 2, which enables the judicial branch, the courts, to enforce the Voting Rights Act. Both of these provisions have been gutted at the hands of rightwing judicial activism.

The end of the Voting Rights Act as we know it has been a political windfall for the Republican Party, which is intent on holding power by any means necessary, even if it means disenfranchising Black and Brown voters.

We are here to tell you that the Congressional Black Caucus will not stand by idly while the voting rights of Black Americans come under systematic assault. We will fight back because fighting is what we do in the Congressional

Black Caucus and because there were many before us who were bloodied and bludgeoned and beaten so that we can have the right to vote. The least we can do is fight back.

Madam Speaker, I yield to the gentlewoman from Ohio (Mrs. BEATTY), our dynamic leader, our dynamic chair.

Mrs. BEATTY. Madam Speaker, I thank Congressman TORRES for yielding.

Madam Speaker, it is indeed my honor to stand in this Chamber tonight to speak up, to speak out about voting rights, voter suppression, fighting back, disenfranchised, section 4, section 5, section 2, all of which you will hear about tonight.

We are here as members of the Congressional Black Caucus because we want to make sure that all of our colleagues hear our story, a story that they, too, should know so well, the story of a lady by the name of Fannie Lou Hamer, a civil rights activist from Mississippi who didn't even know that she could have had the right to vote.

Recently, her granddaughter told that story. As I read that and thought about how she dedicated her life to voting rights, fast-forward, think about our beloved friend, colleague, mentor, the late Congressman John Lewis, who stood on this floor at this microphone and told us his story, told us about that day when he was crossing the Edmund Pettus Bridge, what it felt like—dogs, hose, police officers, knocked down, and could have died.

But the story ends with a good message because he would have done it all over again. He told us, if you see something, say something. He reminded us that it is our role to get in good trouble.

So tonight, we want our colleagues, especially those on the other side of the aisle, to know that this is one of our top priorities. We want them to know that four times Republican Presidents reauthorized the Voting Rights Act. We want our colleagues in the Senate to know this should not be something that we are fighting over. This is something that we should be honoring and celebrating.

As we gather here in this sacred Chamber, on the floor of the people's House, to discuss voting rights in America, to amplify Our Power, Our Message, we boldly announce that we are not going to let the clock be turned back.

Let me end by saying on behalf of the members of the Congressional Black Caucus that this is something that we are asking all of our colleagues to join in and help us make sure that we can proudly say that we are reauthorizing the Voting Rights Act.

Madam Speaker, I close by saying the CBC will do everything in our power to defend the right to vote. We are prepared to work overtime. We are prepared to go what I like to call old school: stand up and make some noise, march, protest, and, yes, even get arrested.

□ 1945

I remember that day clearly, fighting, marching, protesting. I thought of Fannie Lou Hamer. I thought of John Lewis and so many other soldiers, pioneers. I stand on their shoulders.

Tonight, I ask us, let's stand together.

Madam Speaker, it gives me great pleasure, as chair of the Congressional Black Caucus to recognize the gentlewoman from Alabama (Ms. SEWELL), my colleague and my friend.

I like to call her the current day mother of voting rights, fighting, and telling her story, leading us with John Lewis every year since I have been in Congress, and before, across that Edmund Pettus Bridge.

Listening to her so scholarly debate the lawsuits that we have been confronted with, Shelby v. Holder.

Listening to her explain preclearance and why we must fight and why we must have hearings. Why we must get it right because there is so much at stake.

Mr. TORRES of New York. Madam Speaker, I yield to the gentlewoman from Alabama (Ms. SEWELL).

Ms. SEWELL. Madam Speaker, I want to thank the illustrious chairwoman of the Congressional Black Caucus, JOYCE BEATTY, for her leadership. I want to thank RICHIE TORRES for leading us in this Special Order hour. Nothing could be more profound in this hour than to be talking about voting rights.

As we speak, our Nation is facing the most concerted effort to restrict the right to vote in a generation. Just this year, 400 bills have been introduced in State legislatures across this Nation to restrict the right to vote. In 19 States, at least 33 of these bills have become law, including the most egregious of State legislatures, Georgia, where now it is a crime to give a bottle of water to a voter as they stand in line.

Even as our democracy comes under attack, we see Republicans standing firm in their opposition to protecting the right to vote, a bedrock principle that should never be partisan.

Just last week, we watched as every Senate Republican voted to block debate on the Freedom to Vote Act, a commonsense bill that would ensure that every American has access to the ballot box.

What are they afraid of, I ask? What are they afraid of?

Last week's vote made clear that Senate Republicans are unwilling to even debate voting rights, let alone hold a fair vote. This just further demonstrates that in order to protect our democracy and the sacred right to vote; we must reform the filibuster to create a path forward for must-pass pieces of legislation.

Madam Speaker, almost 3 weeks ago we saw Senator LEAHY introduce S. 4, the John Robert Lewis Voting Rights Advancement Act in the Senate. But unless we take action on the filibuster, and take action now, this critical bill

will face the same fate as the Freedom to Vote Act.

The way I see it, every Senator is now faced with a choice: it is voting rights or the filibuster; it is protecting our sacred right to vote and our democracy or the filibuster; it is advancing the legacy of John Lewis and the foot soldiers or it is a filibuster.

Now, I know which side I am on. I hope our Senators will choose to do what is right and do away with an archaic procedural rule that has been used for decades to block racial justice in this country.

President Biden also understands the urgency of this critical moment. On Thursday, at his town hall meeting, we heard President Biden express support for reforming the filibuster to pass must-needed voting rights legislation. I am glad that President Biden understands the urgency of this moment and the dire need for Federal oversight.

You know, it was Federal oversight that brought us the Civil Rights Act of 1965. It was Federal oversight that allowed those marchers to march across that Edmund Pettus Bridge in my hometown of Selma, Alabama. You know when State legislatures go amuck, it is Federal oversight that we need to ensure that every American has access to the ballot box.

Madam Speaker, it was foot soldiers like our late, great colleague and my mentor, John Lewis, who shed blood on a bridge in Selma for the equal right of all Americans to vote. If protecting that sacred right is not worth overcoming a procedural rule, then what is?

Madam Speaker, it takes only 51 votes to sit a Supreme Court Justice and for a Supreme Court Justice to have life tenure on the Supreme Court. 51 votes. Yet, it takes 60 votes to stop debate and to allow a fair vote in the United States Senate on voting rights. This is unacceptable. It is un-American. It is unjust.

We, in the Congressional Black Caucus, are saying: This is our message. This is our fight. Voting rights. We have no other choice, we must reform the filibuster and we must do so now.

When I think about the shoulders on which we all stand, I am reminded of being in this House in 2015 during the State of the Union. I had as my special guest none other than Amelia Boynton Robinson, who at that time was 103 years old. She was the oldest living foot soldier that marched across the Edmund Pettus Bridge with John Lewis and so many others.

In 2015, the 50th anniversary of the Selma to Montgomery march, she was my special guest. As we waited in a small room off of this Chamber for Barack Obama, then-President of these United States, to deliver that State of the Union, everyone wanted to take a picture with Ms. Amelia Boynton Robinson.

They knelt by her wheelchair, and said: Ms. Amelia, we stand on your shoulders. Oh, Ms. Amelia, we wouldn't be here if it wasn't for your sacrifice.

Well, Ms. Amelia was a little tired of people saying that to her over and over again. And when Eric Holder, the then-Attorney General of the United States, came and knelt beside her, and said: Oh, Ms. Amelia, I stand on your shoulders. She said: Get off my shoulders, all of you, do your own work—is what she said.

Madam Speaker, I am here to say that we, the members of the Congressional Black Caucus, are doing our own work. We are standing firm, we are standing solid, we are standing united in our effort to bring back the full protections of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

We must do our own work, all of us. It is not enough to say that we stand on the shoulders of giants. We know these giants, our foremothers and our forefathers, they were tacticians, they were strategists. They just didn't happen upon Selma, Alabama. They just didn't happen upon Birmingham and Memphis and Atlanta. They went looking for good trouble, and good trouble they got in. We must do the same. We must take a play from their playbook.

We must stand firm. We must stand united. We must stand undeterred in our efforts to beat down any barrier that stands in the way of protecting that sacred right to vote. It was John Lewis who said that the vote is the most sacred, the most fundamental right, nonviolent tool in our democracy. That is the vote. The vote is fundamental to this democracy, and everything else we do—well, everything else we do will be tainted if every American lacks the right to vote. There is nothing more sacred, more fundamental to this democracy, than the right to vote.

How can a procedural rule stand in the way of that right?

Now, I can tell you that my constituents back home don't understand the filibuster. They don't understand this archaic procedural rule that is in the Senate. When I tell them that that stands in the way of us passing the John Robert Lewis Voting Rights Advancement Act, they say: Why? Didn't we go to the polls in record numbers in States all across this Nation, in southern States like Georgia to deliver the democratic majority? And they ask of us to protect that democracy now.

John Lewis said that our fight is not a fight for 1 day, it is not a fight for 1 year, ours is a fight of a lifetime to secure that sacred right to vote. When I close my eyes, I can hear him. Can't you hear him? John Lewis said it firmly, he said it often: When you see something that is not right, that is not fair, that is not just, we have a moral obligation to stand up and do something about it.

We in the Congressional Black Caucus know that our message, our fight, our cause, is nothing if not to defend the sacred right to vote. It is a right that is fundamental to our democracy and that no elected official should seek to undermine, to restrict any voice in this democracy.

Our vote is our voice in this representative democracy. When you squelch the voice of one American who has that sacred right and is unable to exercise it because the lines are too long, because their names have been purged from a roll, it is a fundamental threat to all of us, injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.

We know that. We live that. Martin Luther King told us that, but we live it every day. Nothing is more fundamental to our rights than our democracy and its foundation, its bedrock, the right to vote.

When Barack Obama came into that small room off of this Chamber, Amelia Boynton Robinson cradled his face. I think all of us understood the import of that moment. Here was the first African-American President of these United States, and here was a woman, at 103 years old, who made the ultimate sacrifice, bludgeoned on a bridge, shedding blood on a bridge in my hometown of Selma, Alabama, so that all of us would have the right to vote and that one day she would see the fruits of her labor. Oh, what faith our foremothers and our forefathers must have had. Faith. Faith that their sacrifices were not in vain.

And President Obama said: Oh, Ms. Amelia, to say thank you doesn't seem adequate. I get to give a speech as the President of these United States, and it is because of you. Without missing a beat, this woman, 103 years old, frail, said: Oh, make it a good one. That better be a very good speech.

□ 2000

We should make every day a good one; we who are the inheritors of this legacy, and we who are the beneficiaries of this movement. Every day should be a good one. We should not lay our head on a pillow if we have not advanced the legacy of these foremothers and forefathers. Every day should be a good one.

So we call on the Senate to do what we know is right, to do what John calls good trouble. Get into some good trouble. Let's change those rules. We have it within our power to do so. After all, we control the Senate, we control the House, and we have the White House—gavels given to us by ordinary people who believed that we will take that power and exercise that power on their behalf.

Nothing is more fundamental than the right to vote. So in the name of John Lewis, in the name of Amelia Boynton, and in the name of all of those known and unknown foot soldiers who have the audacity to make this Nation live up to its ideals of freedom, justice, and equality, are those empty words?

We must breathe life into those constitutional principles, and we can do so if we have the will to do what we know is right.

A filibuster or voting rights? Upholding the legacy of our foremothers and forefathers or a filibuster?

Making sure that we do all that we can to protect this democracy or a filibuster?

The choices are easy from where I sit. They are easy from where our constituents sit.

I ask our Senators to do what they know is right. If ever there is a reason to reform the filibuster, it is for that constitutionally protected right to vote. We must do so, and we must do so now and pass S. 4, the John R. Lewis Voting Rights Advancement Act.

Let us restore the full protections of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Let us pass the Freedom to Vote Act. After all, the first 300 pages were written by John Lewis. His Voter Empowerment Act is about access to the ballot box. It is about making sure that the least of these—the voiceless—have a voice in this democracy. We must restore the vote and the voices of the excluded.

We can do that. Congress can do that. That was what the Supreme Court said in the *Shelby v. Holder* decision: Only Congress can come up with a modern-day formula to secure the right to vote and to get at the most egregious State actors. We understand that we are threading a thin needle, but we have done our job and now the Senate must do its. Let's get rid of the filibuster. Let's reform the filibuster at the very least and ensure that every American has a right to vote and to ensure that their vote is counted.

Mr. TORRES of New York. Madam Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. EVANS).

Mr. EVANS. Madam Speaker, I would like to thank the chairwoman for her leadership of the Black Caucus for this opportunity, and I would like to thank my colleague from the great State of New York for his leadership and what he has done.

After listening to the mother, as the chairwoman said, I don't think it could have been expressed better. She did a fanatic job.

Madam Speaker, in my home State of Pennsylvania, Republican majorities in the legislature are trying to stay in power by restricting people's right to vote. For 7 years, Governor Wolf's veto has protected voting rights, so they are trying to amend the State constitution to bypass him.

We are seeing these types of voting suppression plans moving forward in several States as well as plans to override the votes after the votes have been cast.

To those who want to suppress votes or throw out vote counts, why are you so afraid of the voters?

Let me repeat that: Why are you afraid of the voters?

Fortunately, Congress can still act. The House has acted twice. We have passed the For the People Act almost 8 months ago on March 3, and we have passed the John R. Lewis Voting Rights Advancement Act in August. Now the eyes of the Nation are on the Senate.

Will the Senators let the filibuster gut the sacred right to vote?

Personally, I would support an end to the filibuster but, I don't get to vote on Senate rules.

According to the Brookings Institute analysis, there are 161 exceptions to the filibuster already. Let me repeat that: 161 exceptions to the filibuster. Everything from executive branch and judicial appointments to budget reconciliation, to fast-track trade agreements, to military base closures and arms sales, but not for voting rights. There are 161 exceptions. Madam Speaker, you heard me just describe to you those exceptions.

At a bare minimum, Senators who support voting rights need to create exception number 162 to the filibuster—a voting rights exception. The right to vote is the foundation of our democracy. The right to vote is the foundation of our democracy.

Make that exception to the filibuster. Save our democracy.

It is important to understand just at this moment, this is a moment in history. This is a moment. I had the pleasure of serving with the late John Lewis on the Ways and Means Committee. And I watched him when I was growing up as he walked across the bridge. I was 10 years old. He demonstrated to all of us in this country what it means to be the conscience; very similar to Congresswoman JOYCE BEATTY leading the Congressional Black Caucus. The Congressional Black Caucus is the conscience of this Congress, and we stand here today to add our voices to make sure that people understand that we are in this fight, we were determined in every way that you can think of, Madam Speaker, to fight for that exception on the filibuster. We want to be clear and concise and let people know that we are not accepting this. This is something that is unacceptable. We must have the right to vote.

Mr. TORRES of New York. Madam Speaker, I yield to the gentlewoman from Georgia (Mrs. MCBATH).

Mrs. MCBATH. Madam Speaker, first, I would like to thank Congresswoman and Chairwoman JOYCE BEATTY of the Congressional Black Caucus for her astounding leadership and really being on the front lines for the Congressional Black Caucus, and I want to thank our colleague, RITCHIE TORRES, for his leadership tonight on the floor for our Special Order hour for voting rights.

I really want to thank each and every one of my colleagues, whether they be members of the Congressional Black Caucus or just colleagues here in this body who have stood and fought for everyone's right to exercise their right to vote, to exercise what is important to them in this country to be fully and freely an American. I want to thank each and every one of them because it is for that reason—those reasons—that we are here tonight.

Madam Speaker, I rise today, like so many have done before me throughout the years, to stand for the right of every American citizen in this country to vote.

During the civil rights movement, I was the child in the stroller at the March on Washington. I know many have heard me say before that my father was president of the NAACP chapter in Illinois, and I can still picture him to this day presiding over meetings at our kitchen table in our home. Our house was always filled with volunteers, civil rights leaders, and workers as they were working on their poster boards, preparations, and getting ready for rallies and for marches as they were preparing to fight for a brighter world.

From the time that I could walk as a young child, I was always marching with my family. I have joked with my colleagues over and over again that the very first song I think I really truly learned how to sing was "We Shall Overcome" because that is what we were singing. That is what I remember in my mind. I knew the words to that song because I knew that they had depth, and I knew they were so important to my family. Even though I was so young and I didn't understand what we were fighting for, I knew what my parents were doing was vitally important to this Nation.

I was raised by my parents to always fight for others, to fight for what is right, to stand up, to champion, to fight for the least of these, and to stand up so that every American's voice is heard and that their voice is counted.

I remember all the nights that my mother would put my sister and me in the car and we would travel all around Illinois passing out *The Voice* newspaper which at that time was the Illinois civil rights newspaper. I remember getting stuck in the mud at night and being out in parts of Illinois where we didn't know where we were, but my mother put us in the car and did what she believed she had to do to make sure that the American people and people of color understood the fight that was going on on their behalf whether they were taking part in it or not, but that they understood and that they knew how important it was for them to be able to exercise what was important to them as human beings and as citizens in the United States of America.

The struggle for voting rights was championed not only by my parents but was embodied by our great friend and colleague, Representative John Lewis. He inspired millions of Americans, and that is still carried on today. That is still so vitally necessary today. I live in Georgia, and Georgia has had a profound and rich history of all the American civil rights stalwarts who fought on the front lines for the very voting rights that we still talk about to this day and that we are still having to protect and champion to this day: Representative John Lewis, Martin Luther King, Jr., Coretta Scott King, Joseph Lowery, C.T. Vivian, Ralph David Abernathy, and, of course, Andrew Young.

These are the individuals who were on the front lines fighting for us—

Members of Congress African Americans—to be in this Chamber, to be in this House, to be in this body, and to represent the values and the dreams of not only people of our ilk but of the American people.

□ 2015

Had it not been for those individuals, as Representative TERRI SEWELL has mentioned, the foremothers, the forefathers, we would not be here today.

Free and fair elections are the bedrock of American democracy. That is what this democracy was founded upon.

As John Lewis used to say: “Freedom is not a state; it is an act. . . . Freedom is the continuous action we all must take, and each generation must do its part to create an even more fair, more just society.” Together, each and every one of us must do our part.

When I think about the fact that my father worked so hard in the civil rights movement, that my father was there in the White House with President Lyndon Baines Johnson for the signing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and when I think about the fact that I am here as a Member of Congress because of the work that my forefathers and foreparents and civil rights workers and leaders and volunteers and people who just believed, just believed in what the Constitution said and meant, believed in that by exercising the right to vote, the fact that now we are still fighting for those same rights and that people live in jeopardy of having those rights taken away is unconscionable.

For every American who fought or bled or died, gave their life for people to have the right to vote, what is happening in this body, what is happening in the Senate, is unconscionable.

We are better than this. America is better than this. We have been that beacon for the world for the sense of democracy, and we must continue to be that very thing.

Across America, we are standing up.

Across America, we will lead the fight for free and fair elections.

Across America, we will lead the fight to ensure that every American has the right to make their voice heard.

Across America, we will lead the fight to create a more just society. We must. The times demand it.

Every one of us in this body was born for a time such as this, and God demands that of us at this time.

Mr. TORRES of New York. Madam Speaker, I yield to the gentlewoman from Illinois (Ms. UNDERWOOD).

Ms. UNDERWOOD. Madam Speaker, I thank my colleague for yielding.

I rise today to urge the Senate to defend the American people from the ongoing assault on their sacred right to vote.

People of color are disproportionately impacted by the recent onslaught of attacks on this fundamental right by certain State legislatures and partisan litigators. This is only the latest

salvo from a decades-long war on voting rights, a war that has always been and still is fueled by racism. But although people of color are the primary targets of these attacks, we are not the only casualties.

The right to vote is the foundation of any democracy. Without it, the United States would cease to be a government of, by, and for the people. Those are the stakes. This is a life-and-death issue for our country itself.

Earlier this year, I proudly voted with most though, unfortunately, not all of my colleagues to designate Juneteenth National Independence Day as a Federal holiday. With this vote, we recognized that America cannot truly be a free country until every American is free.

Freedom cannot be conditional on who you are, where you live, what you look like, how many hours you work, what language you speak, or what bus you ride. That is why every attack on voting rights cracks the foundation of our democracy. If we allow it to keep crumbling away chip by chip, soon, the whole structure will collapse.

Last week, Senate Democrats brought an urgently needed voting rights bill to the floor, where every single Republican voted to defeat it. Of course, this defeat was made possible by the filibuster, an undemocratic procedural weapon that has been wielded for a century and a half to block anti-lynching legislation, civil rights, and voting rights.

Americans are tired of seeing their rights sacrificed on the altar of the filibuster. Every Senator faces a choice about what is more important to protect, an antiquated procedural rule or our representative democracy.

I urge my colleagues in the Senate to prioritize our democracy and ensure access to the ballot box is not undermined by restrictive State laws. A democracy for some is not a democracy for all.

Mr. TORRES of New York. Madam Speaker, how much time do I have left?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman has 16 minutes remaining.

Mr. TORRES of New York. I will use far fewer than 16 minutes.

Madam Speaker, the lesson of history is State and local governments cannot be trusted to respect voting rights in the absence of Federal oversight. Federal voting rights enforcement is essential, as essential as the right to vote itself. And the most powerful tool for voting rights enforcement is preclearance. Preclearance has been so effective that, from 1965 to 2006, it kept 1,200 State and local voting restrictions from taking effect.

The John Lewis Voting Rights Act would restore preclearance as the gold standard of voting rights enforcement, not only for some States but for all.

The John Lewis Voting Rights Act makes real the creed of America, liberty and justice for all.

Madam Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

DEMOGRAPHICS IS OUR BIGGEST THREAT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 4, 2021, the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. SCHWEIKERT) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. Madam Speaker, I am going to try something for the next hour, and it is going to be one of those presentations that is always a little on the difficult side because we are going to talk about things a lot of this place and a lot of the country doesn't want to hear, but we call it math.

The first premise, I need to ask all of us, if I were to walk into a room of Democrats, people on the left, or people on the right, and say, “What is the biggest threat over the next couple of decades that is facing your country?” you would hear all sorts of things.

You know, a couple of years ago, with the Democrats, it was Russia, Russia. Today, it may be this and that. I am going to argue it is demographics. And you go, huh?

We are going to do almost 38 boards here, walking through the national debt, deficit spending, spending priorities, and the reality on where there are revenues, taxes, what we call receipts. Then you have to ask yourself, does the next generation, and the generation after that, and the generation after that, do they have the right to live in a country where there is some prosperity, or has Washington, D.C., decided to just destroy those who are heading toward retirement, those who are heading toward elementary school and their future?

Let's actually sort of walk through some of the realities of the math. And I am not going to even bother with 1965 and what the mix was.

You have to understand, in 2021, 77 percent of all the spending in this place, 77 percent of all the spending, was what we called mandatory, formula, Social Security, Medicare, formulas. Only 10 percent was defense, and 13 percent was everything else in government.

If you like to think that, well, you have lots of prodefense Democrats and, obviously, prodefense Republicans, then mandatory is a formula that you don't even vote on here. You are electing Members of Congress to come and vote on 13 percent of the spending in this budget cycle. This is how out of whack it is. And we are going to walk through how much of this mandatory is demographics.

Look, getting older is not Republican or Democrat, but it is math. It is going to happen. So let's actually walk through a couple of the realities here.

I just threw this chart together. I know it is impossible to read on camera and those things. But the point is simple. Today, Social Security is 23 percent of all the spending; national defense is 15; Medicare is 14. In a couple of years, all those change. I could even